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THE WOMAN VOTER

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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A Government of the People

Miriam Allen de Ford

The Englishman in His Castle

Hilda Ripley

All the Antis Answered

A Symposium

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The Woman Voter

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APRIL, 1912

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY—AN ENGLISH APPRECIATION

The most important development in suffrage work of recent years is undoubtedly the rise of the Woman Suffrage Party. To English ears this title at once suggests an organized Party in Congress, but the Woman Suffrage Party is something wholly different. Its members are men and women of any shade of political opinion, who sign a membership form stating their belief in women's suffrage and willingness to join the "Party." They pay no subscription, and are urged to join one of the other leagues or societies, which do demand subscriptions, if possible. One asks at once: "How is it possible to organize or keep in touch with non-paying members?" In the answer to this question lies the real importance of the new society.

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized on the same lines as the men's political Parties; that is, it is divided into wards and precincts, and (further) into smaller districts of so many "blocks" of houses. Captains have charge of each of these divisions or districts, with officers under them to organize the sub-divisions, in such wise that there is an active representative of the Woman Suffrage Party in charge of every group of houses. She keeps in touch with those inhabitants who belong to the Party, and gets more to join. The thing is organized by personal work from top to bottom. It is magnificent.

English suffragists will not be surprised to learn that the brain from which this statesmanlike scheme originated is Mrs. Chapman Catt. She founded the Woman Suffrage Party in New York, where it has had an extraordinary success, and already numbers between forty and fifty thousand members. Its president now is Mrs. Penfield; it has an organ of its own, *The Woman Voter;* and its activity in organizing meetings and interviewing members of the Legislature is very great. It has spread to the other States.

Women of the "Party" will understand the machinery (I use the word in its English, not its American sense) of government, and take their places in it without difficulty when the time comes. They will, moreover, have a programme to work for, ready-made. Though the "Party" is a suffrage society, it takes a definite line also with regard to better conditions for women's work, and other problems of the day. This is all without prejudice to its primary object—the vote. If one may make a comparison, it perhaps more resembles the National Professional and Industrial Women's Suffrage Society than any other here, at least with regard to its general policy and line of action, though it is obviously quite different in constitution; while in the education in democracy which it gives to its members, I was proud to see a resemblance to our own N. U. W. S. S.

A. Maude Royden.

The Common Cause, February 18.

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SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK STATE

A Study in the Middle-Class Mind.

As early as 1868, women began to entreat the State Legislature to give them the vote. In 1894 a bill was reported out favorably by the Senate, but no real action was taken then, nor has any real victory been won until this session of 1912, when the Senate voted the amendment out and the Assembly (March 19) by a vote of 68 to 63 overthrew the adverse report of its Judiciary Committee on the suffrage amendment and ordered the bill placed on the calendar. Up to this time it had been impossible to get a report of any kind from either of the Judiciary Committees in spite of yearly pilgrimages to Albany by the women, much expenditure of their time and strength and repeated hearings.

On March 19 the Senate, in committee of the whole, voted 24 to 17 against the enacting clause after the proposition to amend the constitution so as to extend the right of suffrage to women had been reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee.

The illuminating thing about the discussion in both Houses over the enfranchisement of the women of New York was the strictly middle class point of view of the opponents of equal suffrage. However irritating at the time the opposing arguments were, the fact stands out clearly that our masculine legislators have not yet grasped the significance of the existence of the vast numbers of working women in their own State to-day.

For example, Senator Ralph W. Thomas prided himself on the fact that he came from a constituency composed of old-fashioned people who had not yet been reached by some of these modern ideas. What a profession of ignorance that the world has moved elsewhere!

Senator McClelland said we must be careful not to destroy the incentive to motherhood. The *Evening Post* described this Tammany senator as "with swinging of arms and turning up of eyes he launched into a defense of the American home which he argued was threatened by the suffrage movement." This is what we call the middle class mind—that provincialism which ignores completely the larger class on which it lives. It would seem unnecessary to point out to a New York senator the lack of anything deserving the name of home, which the working women of New York "enjoy." Nor is it their fault that their homes are not middle class homes. They work because they must; they live under the best conditions they can; those conditions are deplorable in the extreme from physical, mental and moral standpoints. Since there are some 500,000 working women in New York City alone who could improve their homes by an intelligent use of the ballot and *who cannot effectively without it,* it would seem obvious that for the very sake of the home, these women should be enfranchised.

This home argument of the opposition is too utterly ignorant to repeat except to illustrate the type of men we must contend with. However, it does show us the vital necessity of arousing working women to speak in their own defense, to announce their existence in society and to make themselves felt so that the legislators can no longer speak as if the world only existed for lazy, smug *bourgeoisie.*

Senator Page, another of the middle class minds, also feared the family relation would cease if women voted. It has not where women do vote, but that makes no difference to this logical person. He said: "Under our present system, women are treated much better than men, and it has been our aim to keep responsibilities and burdens from their shoulders. As a matter of fact the women have been treated so well by their fathers, husbands and brothers they have become tired of the old excitements and seek new ones of which the woman's suffrage agitation is one." Does the honorable gentleman think that our little children are equally well cared for in this country? He forgot to mention the attitude of the employers of woman laborers, but we presume the husbands, fathers, brothers offset by their kindnesses the hardships of toil in sweatshops and mills and foundries.

Senator Page reminds us of the story of the little princess who inquired one day during the French Revolution what all the men and women shouting in the streets wanted, and, on being informed that they were clamoring for bread, innocently and ignorantly asked: "Why don't they eat cake, if they cannot get bread?" Senator Page either does not know, or he consciously conceals the fact that millions of women in the United States have all the burdens and responsibilities that males have in factories, mills, shops and stores. The ignorance of the rural members of the Legislature cannot be excused on the ground that they do not understand industrial conditions outside of their own narrow spheres. Country men know how country women

rise early in the morning and toil all day milking, churning, cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning and often working in the fields with the crops.

To judge from the light talk of some of the wise men who are our superiors in wisdom, all the women of the United States have to do is to rise in the morning, prepare their toilets with the assistance of a lady's maid, eat a dainty breakfast, lounge through the morning with a favorite novel, motor during the afternoon, dress for dinner, be sweet when the lord of creation arrives, dine, go to the opera, and then to Sherry's. To the perfumed minds of the anti-suffrage legislators all the women have to do is to eat cake. They have no responsibility. Why do they clamor for bread?

The debate in the Assembly was not even on as high a plain of intelligence as that in the Senate and it certainly did not redound to the credit of the male voters whose representatives the assemblymen are.

Whether middle class men can be affected by the abstract arguments of middle class women only is a query. One thing seems essential at least—to send next year, by elimination of the unfit, as many intelligent men to the Legislature as possible—men with just plain, ordinary intelligence about the facts of the world in which they live, about the people who feed, clothe and otherwise toil for them either in their capacity of capitalists or retainers. If, in addition we can get men elected who have at least a faint vision of the ideals which are now moving women to seek political rights, so much the better.

New York suffragists have made great gains during the year, in organization work, in co-operation, in zeal, in money. The Woman Suffrage Party has carried on a splendid constituency fight and it has prepared itself constantly for a campaign next Autumn to which it will be the better spurred on by the attitude of the men who were elected this past year. The workers must be reached in greater numbers, also, for the workers' own sakes. When their voices are heard oftener in the halls of the Legislature, much of this idle twaddle will give way to a serious consideration of this measure of human justice and necessity. M. B.

THE results of this season's legislative work surely justify us in saying that we have made woman suffrage at least a near-political issue. Many politicians themselves acknowledge that it is more than that.

The Coöperative Committee has been a great source of strength. Every one of the organizations on the committee has done excellent work. The State organization has brought pressure to bear in the up-State districts. The College League has stood by the policy of its committee and have brought pressure to bear upon senators and assemblymen throughout the State. The Equal Franchise Society has done good educational work. The Political Union has worked on many senators and assemblymen, not only in New York City, but up-State, and its special demonstrations, like the march upon the Capitol, have all added to and increased the mass of activity that has affected the Legislature this season. The Political Equality League, through Mrs. Belmont, has done good political work. In many cases where a short eight- or ten-day campaign was on in certain districts of the city the Men's League has circularized all its enrolled members in these districts, interviewed individual politicians and tried to bring pressure to bear in innumerable obscure ways that no one will ever be able to tabulate. Day in and day out the Woman Suffrage Party has been unremitting in its efforts. The most careful, wise and explicit political work has been done. Not a stone has been left unturned to bring the proper influence to bear at the right time through any political, business or social avenues in any Assembly or Senatorial District.

The good work done last Fall at the political conventions and in the election has borne excellent fruit. The pledging of a certain number of men to vote for submission has made our work more definite and easy, and has enabled us to bring pressure to bear just where it was needed during the crises of the last few weeks. We will never be able to tabulate how many thousands of letters and telegrams have been sent to Albany, or how many names to petitions have been presented in person to the senators and assemblymen who were wavering. The Party members have done careful, tactful work.

Nobody will ever be able to estimate adequately the immense value of Miss Rankin's work. Not only has she been a unifying element, in representing all the organizations at Albany as our accredited agent, but she has exercised unfailing diligence and shown wonderful telling insight in her managing of men and affairs during this legislative session. Unquestionably the way she has used all the organization backing at her disposal, which is made possible by the cordial coöperation of the other organizations, has at last borne in upon the minds of the legislators that we have a big organized movement. For instance, in a number of cases where men have remarked with that airy ease which always attends such an announcement on the part of a legislator, "We have heard nothing from our district," Miss Rankin has immediately written, telegraphed or telephoned and within twenty-four or forty-

(*Continued on page 18*)

THE INLAND FARMER

By Sarah Noble-Ives.

Illustrated by the Author.

IV.—THE WOMAN QUESTION.

US grangers had a meeting at the School-house Friday night,
To divvy up the road-tax, an' it took a mighty sight
O' thinkin' an' o' cogitin' 'fore we could quite decide
To put macadam on the roads those auto-fellers ride.

Bimeby we got it settled; then Bill Stone he turns to me,
An' says, "Well, Hi, I wonder now, what ructions there would be
Ef wimmen put their figures in this mud-macadam pie?
We hear your wife would like to vote, an' can you tell us why?"

"Now, there you got me, Bill," I says. "I can't make head nur tail
Uv what she says nur what she means. It's foolish, an' I fail
Ter see why wimmen ever need ter worry 'bout the laws.
They'd better stick to the effect, not bother with the cause.
Why, laws take brains ter make 'em, an' I jest would tell 'em straight,

Their little thinkers were not made ter run the town an' State,
Us men kin make laws good enuff fer wimmen ter live by,
Besides, they don't know how ter vote, why should they want ter try?

They'll spend their time a-votin' ef they ever git ter that,
Fer pockits ter their dresses, an' three stories to their hat.
It's too hard work fer wimmen, bless their little simple souls!
I couldn't bear ter see Meliss a-votin' at the polls."

Then neighbor Bliss, he up an' spoke (his wife's a suffragee):
"You don't know what you're talkin' 'bout, Hi Tinkum, seems ter me.
'You could not bear ter see her vote—the work is much too hard!'
But you kin stand it—settin'—ter see her rake the yard!

" 'You could not bear ter see her vote—oh, no, you'd rather die!'
But you kin watch her feed the pigs, an' never bat an eye!
Them chestnuts about wimmen's brains—they fairly make me sick;
They're big ez ourn is, you kin bet, though mebbe not so thick.

"An' you kin put it in your pipe, an' take it straight from me,
That my wife, Polly, an' Meliss are smarter'n we be——"
Well, there we stopped. No one had nothin' more ter say that night
But I've been kinder thinkin' since, that mebbe Bliss is right.

TWO POINTS OF VIEW.

SHE: Who is this Ray Hoffman who writes so much for the papers?

He (in a voice growing larger): Ray Hoffman? He is my creation.

She: How is that?

He: I discovered him.

She: Mm!

He: He worked in a factory, after he came over to this country. He was an operator on knee pants.

She: *Knee* pants!

He: Yes, I heard him telling stories to those at work around him—stories of East Side life. And I told him to write them down just the way he told them, and I would get them published in the paper I was writing for.

She: And he did?

He: Yes, and they made a hit. *That was how* he got his start.

She: Wasn't that fine!

He (in a small voice, growing smaller): Yes, but he was sickly—he has always been sickly. And then there was a girl who worked in the factory. She was always doing little things for him. And he got sicker and went away to the country. She kept on working in the factory.

She: And sent him her money?

He: Yes.

She: Mm!

He: And he married her. But she is a drag on him now.

She: A drag?

He: Yes—a great drag.

She: But she sent him the money she earned in the factory—when he was sick!

He: Oh, he has paid that all back to her since their marriage. He is an important man now. His paper sends him to Europe to investigate conditions over there, and he meets big people. But he cannot have them come to his house. His wife is much beneath him. She is a great drag on him.

She: Hum—mm.

H. SHREWSBURY.

THE Woman Suffrage Party of Boston held its first convention in old Faneuil Hall on March 5. As this famous old hall will now no longer be used except for museum purposes it is fitting that the last cry for freedom heard from its platform should have been for women. Mrs. Penfield, who was the principal speaker of the evening, reports a splendid convention and Boston women say it was the most inspiring meeting ever held in Boston. Twenty-three out of twenty-six wards of Boston were represented by elected delegates, besides Brookline, Cambridge, Somerville and Newton.

THE ENGLISHMAN IN HIS CASTLE

By Hilda Ridley.

IN all ages and countries, woman has been more or less held up to ridicule. Numerous proverbs and popular sayings bear witness to this, to say nothing of general literature, and woman, "with a patient shrug," has meekly submitted to such ignominious treatment. But now a change has come about. Woman, so long supine, has awakened to an appreciation of her wrongs and has expressed her determination to fight for her rights. She has unfurled her standard, and on all sides, generous, broad-minded men and women are flocking to it. In no country has the fight been more significant than in England, and hence an examination of its methods is worth while. The methods of warfare are diverse, but at least one of them seems peculiarly apposite.

It is the refinement of cruelty, no doubt, to mount, in the place of woman on the public stage of ridicule, that being who has been her most insidious foe—that stronghold of British conservatism, that pillar of Society, the Head of the House, the Englishman in his own Castle! But no weapon has ever been more effective than ridicule, and it is the weapon used by a group of English novelists, who avowedly or tacitly sympathize with the woman's cause.

When the Englishwoman first awoke to an appreciaton of her wrongs, she took the Englishman almost as seriously as he took himself. The solemnity was awful. But with the publication of George Meredith's novels, the introduction of "The Doll's House" at the Novelty Theatre in London, and the plays of George Bernard Shaw, a change was presaged. The Englishman began dimly to foresee his fate—a fate, however, which has only recently been fully realized.

No writers are more to the fore at the present time than H. G. Wells, Maurice Hewlitt, John Galsworthy, E. F. Benson and Arnold Bennett. Now each of these authors has revealed to the inquisitive public eye the Englishman in the privacy of his own castle. This has, of course, been done before, but with a difference. So much depends upon the point of view. Take H. G. Wells' "Ann Veronica" and "Marriage," Maurice Hewlitt's "Open County," Benson's "The Challoners," "The County House" by Galsworthy, and "Leonora" by Arnold Bennett, and we have a composite picture of a well-known and unmistakable type—the Englishman at Home.

But how, we may ask, is such a picture ridiculous? With the exception of Hewlitt, all these novelists are professed realists. Perhaps this statement may in itself constitute a satisfactory explanation, but let us be more explicit. What are the main characteristics of the picture? It reveals on the whole the character of a man, who is only an average human being and is, therefore, correspondingly weak and fallible. This man, nevertheless, is possessed of an amazing egotism which renders him blissfully unaware of his own limitations. To witness such a spectacle is to witness a farce. We laugh at the fly on the chariot wheel who cried: "See what a dust I do make!"—and we laugh at the Englishman. At the same time, he often makes us very angry, because the deeds to which he attaches so much pompous importance frequently result disastrously. He is, unfortunately, not so harmless as the fly in the fable. Nevertheless, the pure absurdity of his rôle is irresistible in its appeal.

In all but two of the novels referred to, the Englishman is represented as being surrounded by a bevy of daughters. In this way, his peculiarities are shown up in a clear light, for the position of a daughter in the home is such that she perforce ministers to his egotism. To begin with, we have the attributes of the male thrown up into strong relief against the feminine background. We can thus study him at our leisure in all his unguarded prominence. As a member of the Superior Sex, his attitude toward the feminine portion of his household is necessarily condescending. That his comfort should be their first consideration, seems to him a truth so self-evident that half the time he is not aware of his own exemption from petty worries. In other words, he accepts his exalted position with the fine unconcern of one "who all his day has ta'en the upper seat." His occupation, when he has one, and his leisure when he hasn't, are of such importance that beside them the trivial pursuits of his wife and daughter pale into insignificance. Thus, in "Leonora," the husband and father returns from his office, and his advent at the dinner table is described as follows:

"Three languorous women and the erect and motionless parlormaid behind the door were waiting for him. He went straight to his carver's chair, and instantly the women were alert, galvanized into vigilant life. . . .

" 'Turn the gas on, Bessie,' said he. Daylight had scarcely begun to fade; but, nevertheless, the man's tone announced a grievance, that, with half-a-dozen women in the house, he, the exhausted breadwinner, should have been obliged to attend to such a trifle. Bessie sprang to pull the chain. . . . Every woman looked furtively at John's morose countenance."

And hear what a downtrodden wife says to the

daughter, who has just returned from a prolonged visit, regarding the jealously guarded leisure of the master of the house:

"Your father's looking forward to seeing you, but he mustn't be disturbed just yet. He's in the vicar's study. He's had his tea in there. He's writing a letter to the 'Times' answering something they said in a leader. . . . also a private note calling attention to the delay in printing his previous communication. . . . He has the windows on the lawn open, so that I think perhaps we'd better not stay out here—for fear our voices might disturb him."

All this, though amusing, is irritating, because such colossal selfishness on the part of the Head of the House so often inconveniences the subordinate members. It is, however, when we witness the logical working out of such assured egotism that our amusement becomes tempered with alarm. The master of the house naturally undertakes to mould the wills and minds of his feminine flock.

"You won't reason—you're dogmatic," says Ann Veronica.

Such an assertion as this, made by a daughter to a father, was unheard of a generation or two ago.

"You won't reason, indeed! What had reason to do with daughters?

"Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do—and cry!"

was the father's innate conviction.

"The younger generation is always in advance of the older," says one of Benson's characters in "The Challoners"—a singularly broad-minded character, who has been expostulating with a father on his dogmatic treatment of his children.

The young, at any rate, are especially *en rapport* with the spirit of the times—and the spirit of the times in this latter generation is decidedly mettlesome. Meek acquiescence is far from it. It has come into a heritage of scepticism. It asks Why and Wherefore. Those pioneers who secured for women the higher education have much to answer for. This restless spirit, through their act, has obtained a passport which has admitted it into the very heart of the family. Its work there, when the conditions are proper, is devastating. What are the proper conditions? An attitude on the part of the head of the family, denoting his intention to work out his will, regardless of the wills and individualities of those around him and at least one strong individuality whose own will clashes with this naïve intention. These conditions we find in the novels mentioned above. It is the fault of the father that the majority of the strong-minded daughters in the books referred to are driven to somewhat devious courses. These girls, who might have been amenable to reason, rush into such a course, because their fathers did not realize that daughters were not mere pleasing possessions, but individuals to be studied, tactfully dealt with, and, if possible, understood. The typical attitude of the father in this regard is well exemplified in the following passage from "Ann Veronica":

"His instinct was in the direction of considering his daughters his absolute property, bound to obey him, his to give away, or his to keep to be a comfort in his declining years, just as he thought fit. About this conception of ownership he perceived and desired a certain sentimental glamor; he liked everything properly dressed; but it remained ownership. Ownership seemed only a reasonable return for the cares and expenses of a daughter's upbringing. Daughters were not like sons."

It is Ann Veronica, the last of a group of more or less successfully married daughters, who defies her father's authority and escapes from home. She becomes eventually the mistress of a married man, substituting for the dogmas of her father some convictions of her own. Much the same thing happens in the case of Sanchia in "Open Country." Sanchia's course is undoubtedly a devious one, but she is impelled to it by a spirit which questions. In "Leonora" it is Milly, the youngest daughter of three, who persists in her purpose of becoming an actress, despite the "Grand Dudgeon" of her father. Each of these "clever" daughters questions the infallibility of the master of the house, with results which are not always happy. In Galsworthy's "County House," the downtrodden wife actually rebels for a brief period, but her spirit, so long imprisoned, is not proof against a protracted insubordination.

The Englishman in his Castle can be easily accounted for. In a way, one is almost sorry for him, because his position and attitude are on the whole so natural, nay inevitable. It was actually not until 1882 that a statute was passed finally repealing the law whereby a woman's property passed into the hands of her husband upon her marriage. Consider the almost unlimited Domestic Power enjoyed by the husband previous to that time! Consider the law as interpreted by Blackstone and its basis, the Canon Law! Is it any wonder that an average human being, vested with so much power over the persons and property of his wife and children, should become a frightful little tyrant? The wonder is, not that he has made himself rather ridiculous, but that he has not made himself more so. In mercy to him, as well as to those over whom he still exercises authority, may the good work, so efficiently carried forward by the novelists aforesaid, be continued!

ALL THE "ANTIS" ANSWERED

At the Metropolitan Temple on March 11th, twenty-five well known speakers answered twenty-five objections to Suffrage. It was a daring experiment, but both chairman (Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe) and speakers entered into the spirit of the occasion and each reply was crisp and effective. We regret that we cannot print all the answers this month, as each one was so excellent that no discrimination is deserved. Under the circumstances, we have given precedence to the men just to prove there is no sex antagonism. Even so, two of the speeches are held over, Mr. Swinburne Hale's and Mr. Hutchins Hapgood's (both of whom had excellent replies to the "antis") because their copies came in too late. The May VOTER will contain the replies made by the women speakers. For a list of the questions and answers, see page 28—*Editor.*

SUFFRAGE INCREASES DIVORCE

THIS objection contains another by implication—that an increase in the number of divorces is undesirable. I am not sure that the remedy for marital troubles is not to make divorce easier and marriage more difficult. But it will be sufficient for our purpose to meet the objection as stated. Does suffrage increase divorce? Unless this objection is evolved from the inner consciousness of the "anti," there must be some facts to sustain it. What are the facts?

We shall refer to the *United States Census Bulletin,* published in 1908, bringing the figures down to 1906.

We shall not consider foreign statistics, though it might be shown that in England, where the women have all but the parliamentary suffrage, the ratio of divorces is but 3 in 100,000; that in Norway, where three-fifths of the women vote, and where divorces cost but a couple of dollars, and are granted for the asking if both parties consent, the ratio is but 6, whereas in Japan, where the agitation for the suffrage has not reached the militant stage the ratio is 215 in 100,000.

It seems fairest to compare the four States that had the suffrage in 1906 with their less favored neighbors in the Western section. If we find there two States of about the same population, having industries about the same, and divorce laws almost identical, one suffrage and the other not—if the effect of suffrage is to increase divorce, ought not the figures to show it?

Idaho and Montana are such States. Between 1900 and 1910 the population of Montana averaged about 30 per cent. more than Idaho. By 1910 it was only 20 per cent. The number of divorces in Montana during 1896 to 1906 was 4,300 in round numbers. During the same period, the period since Idaho got the suffrage, there were but 2,300 divorces there.

Or taking it in another way, perhaps fairer: For the five years round 1900 the ratio of divorces to 100,000 married population was, in Montana 497, in Idaho 347.

But perhaps our objector was thinking of Colorado. This is the largest of these four suffrage States, and has the largest ratio of divorces, though there are non-suffrage States that exceed it. What has suffrage done to Colorado?

Just before Colorado got the suffrage, in 1891 and 1892, the average number of divorces was 937. For the three years, 1894 to 1896, the average was but 517.

During the ten years 1896 to 1906, although the ratio of divorce has increased in the Western States on the average of 15 per cent., and in the country as a whole 30 per cent., in Colorado it has decreased 20 per cent. In absolute numbers divorces have increased about 15 per cent. in the country during the past five years and in the Western States about 100 per cent., but in Colorado the number has remained stationary during that period, practically no increase at all.

Compared with Eastern States, the ratio of divorces to married population is high. We should not compare them with South Carolina, which grants no divorces, nor with New York, where the only grounds are adultery on the part of the defendant and perjury on the part of the plaintiff. But compared with their neighbors, the suffrage States show a ratio of about 10 per cent. less.

These last figures may not seem important, but remember, if you please, that we are not here to show that suffrage will diminish divorce, but to meet the objection that it will increase divorce. And my answer to the objection based on the figures I have read you, of the situation after from 15 to 40 years of suffrage, is " 'Taint so."

GEORGE GILMAN.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS JUST BUT NOT EXPEDIENT

ONE of the most specious objections to the enfranchisement of woman is that the measure would be just but not expedient.

Of all the mean words that disgrace the English dictionary, *Expediency* is the meanest. It is a euphemistic term for cowardice and brutality, a villain in gentlemen's garb.

When a practice or an institution is devoid of all moral sanction and cannot be justified on grounds of justice, reason or necessity, unscrupulous Expediency steps in to save its discredited face. Slavery was never claimed to be just, but for many generations it was tolerated on the ground of expediency. All the horrors of our industrial system, all iniquities of the law, all species of political oppression, all social crimes and private infamies are committed in the unholy name of expediency.

To say that woman suffrage is just but not expedient under our established political and social régime, is a condemnation not of suffrage but of our present régime. When justice becomes inexpedient and iniquity is enthroned in a so-called civilized community, it invariably presages an imminent change in the basic principles upon which such community is organized. As patriotism is the last resort of the rascal, so expediency is the last resort of the reactionary. The fact that the foes of woman suffrage have been driven to the argument of expediency, their last ditch, is to my mind a sure indication that the triumph of the cause is near at hand.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

THERE IS NOTHING IN THE BALLOT

WHEN people propound this undemocratic sentiment they forget that universal manhood suffrage is less than one hundred years old in this State. For hundreds of years men struggled for a voice in the government, and they are still struggling for it on a large part of the earth's surface. Why all this earnest human effort to obtain something that does not count? Ask any man to give up his right to vote. Will he act as if there is nothing in it? Indeed, have not men died rather than surrender this cherished, hard-won right? And yet they say it does not count!

About election time we hear both political parties cry: "We are the workingman's friend! Vote for us and we will give you good labor laws!" Is this not an indication of the value of the ballot?

By the way, note that all three of the presidential candidates of one of the parties have come out, more or less, for votes for women. It is a sign of the times. Who says that the presidential vote of over a million enfranchised women, in the six Western States, does not count this year?

Some people argue that the labor union is the power that gets the laboring man fair treatment. But the labor union could not exist without the ballot back of it. It would be declared illegal or unconstitutional. Who can deny that it is the ballot back of laboring men that used by them collectively gives force to the demands of the union?

The vote, if properly used, will get justice and fair treatment for any class of men.

It has been given to, or taken by, one class of men after another for the protection of that class or in some cases to give them an advantage over other classes. The nobles, first, wanted protection from an autocratic ruler. Then other propertied classes wanted it to protect their property. Established religious classes wanted it to gain their special ends. Educated classes wanted protection from the ignorant.

But finally, to promote justice for all men, universal manhood suffrage has been granted in certain of the more civilized countries; and we are only just beginning to have visions of its wonderful possibilities.

Now, in the name of all that is just and right, why should we deprive women of this power for self-protection and give men all the advantages of the franchise. We should not, we must not, and we will not, for more than a short time longer, withhold this measure of justice from women.

JAMES L. LAIDLAW.

WOMEN ARE REPRESENTED NOW

IN answering this assertion we must first define political representation. By this term we mean government through delegates chosen by those represented. Any other plan is a more or less benevolent despotism. The Declaration of Independence makes this point plain.

Now the basis of our representation is the total population, but the method of selecting delegates is by the ballot. Suffrage here is conferred upon adult males with certain qualifications of residence. Others who are denied this right have no controlling voice in the conduct of government; and since they cannot delegate powers which they do not possess, such persons are not represented.

Admitting that women are not directly represented, it is sometimes claimed that they are indirectly represented by the votes of men. This might be possible if there were a male voter for every woman. But such is not the case. According to the census of 1900, in eleven States

women outnumbered men. This was also true of most cities. In such cases equal representation upon the basis of male suffrage is impossible.

But taking the country as a whole, the twelfth census showed about a million and a half more males of voting age than adult women. Five million men, however, were foreigners and over two million of them were not naturalized. Now if we add to these alien males, native men in almshouses, insane asylums and State prisons, there were over one million women in excess of possible male voters.

We must further deduct from potential male electors an unknown number of illiterate colored men disfranchised in the South, and many others throughout the country who were absent or unregistered at election time. Perhaps 70 per cent. of all electors actually cast their ballots. The presidential campaign of 1900 brought out a large vote—nearly fourteen million. But that was only one vote for every five or six persons—not enough properly to represent twenty million women. Indeed, there were two million less actual voters than families in the United States at that time, and almost half a million less than the total number of separate dwellings. We cannot assume adequate representation upon such a basis.

It may be said that equality of numbers is unnecessary since women are represented by the men of their families. Let us see. Our statistics show that less than 70 per cent. of all females fifteen years of age and over were or had been married. That the other 30 per cent. were represented by male relatives, is a matter of pure conjecture. How about immigrant maid servants and country girls in our city shops?

In the second place, there were more native married women than native married men. Of the excess foreign-born married men, some had wedded native women, others had wives abroad. But such representation is of doubtful value, since many of these men were aliens, illiterate and unassimilated.

Thirdly, widows and divorced women numbered over 2,800,000. They may have been represented by relatives, admirers, dependents, or even by attorney. But the possible complications involved in such cases lead us finally to consider how men can actually fix their ballots to express the will of their women coadjutors.

To begin with a simple case, suppose a husband and wife agree on political matters. Then one vote represents two people. But if they differ, will their choices cancel or will the man nullify the woman's views? It may be claimed that their interests are identical and that the man must decide for both. Identity of interests is a large assumption; identity of choice is a larger one. When this man's junior partner or his unmarried son differ on such matters their choice actually offsets his.

Next, suppose this couple is blessed with a family of grown daughters. How shall father adequately represent all the ladies, especially if they disagree? Evidently the odd girl must seek another champion. It may be possible to find a young man who is fancy free and unencumbered with a widowed mother or a maiden aunt. But if this admirer attempt a compromise with the views of his lady friends, imagination fails to conjure up the appearance of his ballot. Probably he would be led to adopt the crude male expedient of balancing various opinions, and trusting to the secrecy of the polling booth, to mark the ticket according to his own best lights. I wonder how many men in this audience ever do otherwise.

Madam Chairman, will you call for a show of hands? HOWARD B. WOOLSTON.

WOMEN DON'T UNDERSTAND POLITICS

THEY don't. How could they? They have had no experience. Men don't understand cooking. How could they? They have never been cooks.

In one of the debates in the House of Commons, in which the extension of the suffrage was being discussed, Mr. Gladstone said that "To say men should not enjoy liberty until they were ready for its use was like saying that no one should go into the water until he was able to swim."

Political progress in the world has largely come from those of whom it was said, "They don't understand politics." Some years ago I was in Denmark. It is ruled by the peasants. They form the ministry. They control the Parliament. A generation ago the feudal class which ruled said, "The ballot should not be extended to the peasants. They don't understand politics. They cannot be trusted with the suffrage." To-day Denmark is in many ways the most advanced country in Europe. There is practically no illiteracy. It is lower than it is in America. The tariff has been abolished. The peasants are free traders. There is only a small standing army. Poverty is negligible. I went through the tenement districts of Copenhagen, the largest city, and found practically none of that misery that exists in other large cities of Europe or America. Education has been extended to all the people. The co-operative purchase and sale of commodities are universal. The middleman has been put out of business. The railroads are owned by the State and operated for people. Denmark is ruled by those who a generation ago did not understand politics.

(*Continued on page 25*)

A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

By Miriam Allen de Ford.

MISS DEVERY sat by her roll-top desk and looked despairingly at the tiny figure standing beside her. Benny was nine years old, and still in the first grade; for after three years he could not even so much as write his own name. The drooping mouth, the distance between his vacant gray eyes, told only too plainly that Benny was out of place in a school for normal children. The school doctor had done what he could to make him conform to the standard, but he remained hopelessly deficient, learning absolutely nothing, "sent to the principal" a dozen times a day by a harrassed girl teacher who had sixty-two turbulent youngsters to manage in addition to Benny.

And if Benny had only been the only one! There was Veronika, who was seven years old and could not tell her name or where she lived; and Michael, absolutely incorrigible, and with a kink in his brain that made him run away and play truant whether he wanted to or not; and Heaven alone knew how many more. And yet in all that district, with its eighteen other schools similarly afflicted, there was not a single special school to take care of these waste-products of humanity, and make of them something approaching human beings.

At this point in Miss Devery's reflections, her office door opened, and a young man entered—a young man whose lean, tanned face was in masculine contrast to the rosy, appealing countenance of the little principal, framed in its fluffy white hair.

"Oh, Mr. Tillotson," exclaimed Miss Devery, "I am so glad you came in! This is Benny, the boy I wanted you to see."

"How do you do, Benny?" smiled Tillotson, stooping to take the dirty little hand. But Benny only stared vacantly up at him and giggled foolishly.

"That is a fair specimen," said Miss Devery, after the little figure had shuffled down the corridor, with another ineffectual promise to "be good." "Except that he is unusually well-behaved today. Yesterday he threw a book at another boy, and then screamed until the whole class was in hysterics."

"Oh, if we can only put Binet in!" said the young man, and the veins swelled on his forehead and he clenched his fists.

"If!" scoffed Miss Devery, sadly. "I don't want to discourage you, Mr. Tillotson, but how much chance do you really think you people have against Fogel?"

"Well, if we can get public sentiment aroused," and Tillotson leaned forward eagerly. "Surely, there must be some decent citizens in this ward. That's where I want the help of you ladies; it's what I came to see you about to-day. When you consider that almost all your school district is in this big ward, every principal and teacher in the district ought to be with the man who has promised to give you a school for poor little chaps like Benny. Put it to them that way; make it strong. Tell them that Binet has promised a special school to the eighth district if he is elected Councilman; that he has push and pull enough, both, to put it through if he gets in; that Fogel is unalterably opposed to it as a needless extravagance. Tell them to use their influence with every man they can reach to give his vote to Binet."

"Mr. Tillotson," sighed the little principal, as she rose and rang the bell for dismissal of classes, "when you've lived as long as I have, you'll find that 'influence' is about as effective as sitting under a tree and waiting for an apple to drop into your mouth instead of reaching up and picking it. If the teachers of this district had votes, Mr. Binet would be Councilman from his ward without the shadow of a doubt."

The young man frowned and bade her farewell rather curtly. He had a young, pretty, clinging wife, and he did not like to think of her mixing with men in the cares and responsibilities of government.

Nevertheless, he had revived a fainting hope in Miss Devery's heart. If anything *could* be done by influence to elect the man who had promised to give a special school to the eighth district, she made up her mind she would do it. And she was no laggard. Within two days every principal and teacher in the district was working for Binet, and Miss Devery more enthusiastically than any of them.

And it did, indeed, seem as if the young campaign manager's prophecy would come true, and they really could accomplish their end. Brothers and fathers and friends, properly appealed to on the subject of imbecile children and municipal indifference, promised to split their tickets and vote for Binet—sometimes even to vote the whole reform ticket. Tillotson came in almost daily to hear Miss Devery's glowing reports.

"That's the way!" he would cry, striking the desk with his hand, "I knew you ladies could do it if you once set your minds to it! The whole thing now depends on the saloon vote. If we can

get the hangers-on around the saloons, who hold the balance of power, why, with the votes you say we are promised, Fogel's simply out of the running. I never saw such enthusiasm for a councilmanic candidate as we've had at these Binet meetings. And every time he mentioned the special school, you should have heard the hall burst into cheers!"

"Well," reflected the little principal, bitterly, as she watched Tillotson's gay departure, "he's complimentary, at any rate. We teachers aren't even on a par with the 'hangers-on around the saloon,' it seems!"

The day before election Tillotson came in for a final report. Everything was going as splendidly as ever. Fogel himself had made a tentative move toward getting a municipal berth somewhere in case of his non-election—practically acknowledged his imminent defeat.

Benny's teacher was in the office when he came, with some new and despairing complaint of Benny. She had been one of the most ardent workers in the Binet cause.

"Oh, Mr. Tillotson," she sighed, as the young man turned to go, "there's not a woman in this ward that won't be praying for Mr. Binet to-night!"

"Humph!" snorted Miss Devery, as he departed. "It would be better if they were going to vote for him to-morrow!"

The teacher colored angrily, though she could not retort to her principal. She was engaged to marry a man whom she did not particularly love, but who could support her well and deliver her from the drudgery of earning her living; and he had carefully inculcated in her mind the great principles that woman's sphere is the home, and that brick-throwing and riot are synonymous with any desire in a woman for citizenship.

All the next day Miss Devery's mind was on the struggle between Fogel and Binet. A dozen times she called up the newspapers, only to be told that nothing definite could be known as yet. It was not until midnight that she learned that, by a narrow margin, Binet had been defeated and Fogel had won.

The next day Tillotson came to her, more in anger than in sorrow. "I'd like to bet that not one out of ten of the men who promised you ladies to vote for Binet meant what he said," he exploded. "Still, we'd have won, if it hadn't been for the saloon vote's turning against us. You heard the trick that Fogel played on us, didn't you?"

"No," said Miss Devery, quietly; "what was it?" There were dark circles under her eyes, and her hand shook—no one but herself knew how she had longed for a chance to be given to these pathetic little creatures, how bitter had been her disappointment—but her voice was perfectly calm.

"Well, it was so easy, it was positively ridiculous. All Fogel did was to get a bunch of cards printed with Binet's name on them, and to go to every saloon in the ward the night before election, hand around the cards to everybody there, and then, when they were all wise that he was Binet, order a drink for himself, never notice another soul there, and walk out. There wasn't a man in any of those saloons that didn't switch around after that and vote for Fogel—he and his friends, too."

"It was a dirty trick," said Miss Devery when she could speak, "and I suppose you know what else put Fogel in. Yesterday afternoon I asked the colored man who takes out our ashes if he had voted, and he grinned broadly, and said, 'Yas'm, twice!' We don't even get a fair count in this ward."

"That's a fact," heartily agreed the defender of masculine superiority in government. "And now, what do you intend to do?"

"Do you think it would do any good to see Fogel?"

"I don't think it would, ma'am, honestly. He's opposed to it every way, and he has no use for the schools at all. He says he grew up without all those frills and fixings, and he guesses the kids to-day can, too."

"All the same, I'm going," said Miss Devery, firmly. "And I'm going to take Benny with me."

"Well, here's wishing you luck, Miss Devery," answered Tillotson, as he rose and shook hands with the little principal. "I certainly hope you make him want to spend all that money on a thing that's not going to benefit him or his friends, but I'm afraid you won't."

The young campaign manager was right. It was easy enough to get an interview with Fogel—the new Councilman was being particularly affable to all his constituents; and, though Miss Devery was not a voter, Benny was a possible future asset. But, though he heard her through with painful politeness, he would not give her even a vain hope to deceive herself with.

"Couldn't think of it, don't approve of it, and don't want to hear any more about it," was the great man's final dictum.

"Oh, look at this poor little child," cried the little principal, at last, desperately, "and don't say that he shan't have any chance in life at all!"

"He seems quite an intelligent youngster to me," said Fogel, with heavy jocularity. "You're all right, Benny, aren't you?" And Benny looked up into his face with a vacant stare, and giggled foolishly.

And then for one minute Miss Devery forgot that she was a lady. "Oh," she cried, her voice choked with emotion, "if we women had the rights that nothing but an unjust government and our own criminal indifference and ignorance de-

prive us of, there'd be a man in your place to-day that wouldn't let those innocent babies grow up to be criminals and worse than criminals!" And, dragging Benny by one limp hand, she rushed from the room.

"Gosh!" muttered the Honorable Mr. Fogel, "If I'd a-known she was a suffragette, I wouldn't have been so polite to her!"

WHY?

By Rosalie Jonas.

WHY should the soul of woman be bound
By the wall of flesh, her beauty cursed?
And men the weakest, and men the worst,
Seek her like wine, with a quenchless thirst,
Till her soul be sodden, her head discrowned?

Why should the mind of the woman die,
Stifled for breath of the outer air,
The vaster life she was made to share;
Free as the swallow to mate and bear;
Keyed by her love to the human cry?

Why should the heart of the woman fail?
Great heart! In balance of death and birth,
She casts her life for the life of earth:—
Is her courage weaker, of lesser worth,
Than death-dealing might of the "man in mail?"

VERILY, something is moving in Spain, for we find that the December number of the *Revista Social,* of Barcelona, quotes approvingly from M. Paul Viollet's historical writings on the question of female suffrage. After pointing out the important part taken by women in the half-lay, half-ecclesiastical assemblies which brought about the Truce of God, he speaks of women who presided in courts of justice and even discharged the functions of mayors. But, to cap the climax, he appeals to the authority of Pope Innocent IV (1241-1254), who gave it as his personal opinion that "electoral rights belong to all women, to wives and to widows." How far the great Pontiff was in advance of his time is but another proof that the thirteenth was the greatest of centuries. Innocent IV was a tried champion of right and justice, as his contest with the Emperor Frederick II abundantly proves; but the justice-loving and iniquity-hating Pontiff has a fresh claim upon the respect and admiration of the world if, as M. Viollet avers, he anticipated by six hundred years what has been called almost a discovery of the nineteenth century.—*America,* Feb. 3.

OHIO'S HOPE

When mother goes to vote some day, then who
will rock the Baby?
The gentleman who rocked it when she went
tax-paying!—maybe?

—Etta Freeman Lane.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY BENEFIT

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OUR FOOD AND THE THEORY OF GERMS

SCIENTISTS say that many of our ills come from germs—that wasting consumption, for instance, and pneumonia lie about in street dust, eager for victims; that other diseases are upon our hands, our lips, our hair; upon flies, upon fleas and even upon carefully handled food. Is it all a fiction of the scientists to increase their importance?

Are there germs?

In almost every bakery in New York—whatever pretensions the bakery may have to "first-class" trade—ask for a loaf of bread. What does the young attendant do while you are addressing her? In ninety-nine cases in one hundred she scratches her face, or smoothes her hair, or picks at a tooth with her finger. When she has heard what you want, with these same fingers unwashed, she seizes your loaf, sometimes rubs her hand over it (either to clean off flour or to clean her hands, one is not certain which) and then ties it up. At that moment, laboring with nausea as you are, and overcome with the unconscious insolence and towering Pompadour roll before you, it is easier to take the bread and not prolong your sufferings. You seize it and rush for outer air. Once home, you cut off the best part—the crust—and try to banish memories of what you saw when you bought it.

I have wondered why there are no printed instructions for handling bread—printed by the Board of Health, posted in every bake-shop, and pronouncing such actions as I have described misdemeanors liable to fine. At times I have thought that all servers of bread in shops should be obliged to wear white cotton gloves, fresh washed every day.

Evidently, however, there are no germs.

But sometimes you don't cut off the crust. You have bread delivered at your house. It is easy—an order at the bakery for so much toothsome staff of life every day. But wait a minute. Do you know what "crack" bakers do when they deliver? I was interested to see. Afterward I began going to the bakery to buy. A wagon early in the morning told the story. There was a high wind. Street dust—"germ" dust—was whirling and flying in the clouds. In this baker's wagon, in front and under the reins, were built boxes without tops. Bread and rolls were lying in the boxes open to the air. A boy-driver halted the wagon before your door. He dropped the reins over the bread, seized a paper bag, stuck a hand in one of the boxes, took out loaf or rolls, as you had ordered, put them in the bag, and delivered them for you to eat.

There are no germs—for you have eaten such bread, lo, these many years.

Once I went to a "delicatessen" to buy a bottle of olives. It was kept by a German Jew. Flies in the shop were legion. They were busy on everything in sight—and most of the things were perishable edibles, meats, breads, cheeses, set out to tempt purchasers. "Why don't you put about fly-paper and get rid of these flies?" I asked. "Oh," said the man with a tolerant grin, "dey eats noddings." "But they poison your food," I answered, pointing to his stock. He looked at me as if I were talking Choctaw, or were crazy. I wondered why the delicatessen shops were not required by law to exhibit instructions for the keeping and handling of the food they serve the people.

Delicatessen shops alone prove there are no germs.

Not long ago a woman with her child, a boy of four or five, stood in Central Park by the iron fence surrounding the reservoir. The boy was scooping up the sand and gravel of the walk in double handfuls and throwing it into the water. "Why do you let your child throw that dirt into water the people drink?" I asked. "That water! People drink that water?" exclaimed the mother, pointing to the reservoir. I continued my walk and saw other evidences of other defilement of the water. "If there are germs," I said to myself, "people who drink this water will die of typhoid." But shortly after I saw the papers report the disease was abating.

How long is it, before teachings of ordinary cleanliness—not to speak of the commands of modern science—will be followed in our bakeries, delicatessen shops and all places where food is offered the public?

I speak in behalf of the people. The few among us who have the misfortune to keep chefs—those in whose houses it is customary for a chef to stick his finger in the food and repeatedly lick it till he gets what his Sybarite palate pronounces the right seasoning—leave them to their aggravated troubles.

But the people, busy, too busy to think, or too tired, or sometimes unknowing the blessings of cleanliness—women, and especially the leisure women of the city—must look out for them, must educate them in the sanitary care of the food they take into their bodies. That will be the devotion of good citizens—to so effect it that all food offered the public is handled under most sanitary conditions. Stress is now laid upon the cleanliness of milk. But why should not our women demand cleanliness for bread, cooked meats, cheeses and every article of diet? The thinking ones do. The mass of women will when once they have the education of the ballot.

KATE STEPHENS.

THE NO VOTE, NO TAX LEAGUE OF CHICAGO

William L. O'Connell,
County Collector,
Court House,
Chicago.

Dear Sir: Because it is absolutely unAmerican and opposed to the fundamental principles of the government under which it is enforced, I refuse to pay the enclosed bill against me, being a personal property tax on household furniture for the year 1911. Being an American, born, bred and steeped in American ideals and American independence, I take my stand irrevocably upon American principles and refuse to bow to what has ever been classed in America as *tyranny,* save when applied to women.

Why, I ask you in all fairness, should I be compelled to labor with my brains or my hands (for I have no hereditary or unearned wealth) to earn money to help support a government that refuses to recognize me and my kind of people save when money is needed or a law is transgressed; a government that treats our humble petitions for true equality with silent or facetious contempt, that casts aspersions upon our mentalities, that damns us for the condition in which we were born, for the shape of our bodies, which condition or shape neither tears, prayers, miracle nor science can change for us?

As an individual of a politically ostracized class, I refuse because my dignity as a human being demands that I so do. As an American, my sole inheritance being American ideals and traditions, I refuse because I love my country, and am ashamed that those in power are not big enough to live up to their basic ideals, and that I am forced to take this course.

You, as an officer of the law, have no choice in the matter, I am told. You have sworn to uphold the law. That is your misfortune, and you should endeavor to change a law so at variance with the fundamental ideals of America, "The land of the free," "the haven of the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth," where "government of the people, by the people and for the people" is solemnly affirmed to be even now in existence; where your candidates for office talk grandly of "getting the power back to "THE PEOPLE" and thus catch your infantile fancy with their claptrap, for there never was a people that was not made up of men and women both. Never will I so shame the State that educated me, as to pretend that I do not see through such sophistries, such demagogism, to pretend that I am not incensed to hear American men arrogate to themselves the proud title of "THE PEOPLE," and no WOMAN rise in her wrath to refute it.

If it be your duty then, as an officer of the law to enforce an unjust law, it is my duty as an adult American, in full possession of my faculties to resist that unjust law, and to insist upon the fulfilment of fundamental principles, upon which this government, under which we live, claimed its independence and the right to a separate existence more than six score years ago. Yours very courteously,

Belle Squire,
President No Vote No Tax League.

APRIL EVENTS.

April 1.—At headquarters of the Political Equality Association, 15 East 41st Street, at 8:30 p. m., Mrs. Winifred Harper Cooley will speak on "The Evolution of the New Woman."

Twenty-fifth Assembly District: Captains' meeting at the residence of Mrs. F. C. Howe, 222 West 23d Street, 8 p. m.

Twelfth Assembly District: Regular monthly meeting at the Friends' Seminary at 8 p. m. Speakers: Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore and Miss Lavinia Dock.

April 2.—At the Broadway Theatre at 2 p. m. Benefit for the Woman Suffrage Party. Bernard Shaw's play, "Press Cuttings," will be given for the first time in America. Tickets at usual theatre prices, on sale at box office and room 212, 1 Madison Avenue.

Fifteenth Assembly District: At headquarters, 120 West 81st Street, at 8 p. m., Mrs. Julian Heath will speak on "Women and the High Cost of Living."

April 4.—Seventeenth Assembly District, at the Republican Progressive Club at 8:15 p. m.. Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley will be among the speakers.

April 6.—Twenty-fifth Assembly District: Afternoon meeting at the home of Mrs. A. H. Southwick. Speaker, Miss Carrie Knapp.

April 8.—At headquarters of the Political Equality Association, 15 East 41st Street, at 8:30 p. m., Mrs. Mary Austin will speak on "The Woman's Contribution."

April 9.—Fifteenth Assembly District, at headquarters, 120 West 81st Street, at 8 p. m., Dr. Rosalie S. Morton will speak on "Health and Efficiency."

April 11.—Third performance of the Twenty-five Players of the Twenty-fifth District in the three new plays at Parish Hall of St. Mark's Church, 2d Avenue and 11th Street, at 8:15 p. m. Admission 25 cents.

Mass meeting of the Eighteenth, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Assembly Districts at the People's Tabernacle, 54 East 102d Street, 8:15 p. m. Speakers, Hon. John S. Crosby, Dr. Fine, Miss Dock, Mrs. Nathan, Miss Whitmore, Mrs. Harry Phillips. Mrs. James Gear presided.

April 12.—Wage Earners' League of the Woman Suffrage Party at the Endeavor Club, 59 Morton Street, at 3 p. m. Speakers, Miss Elizabeth Freeman and Miss Clara Lemlich.

April 15.—Twenty-fifth Assembly District: Open meeting at Metropolitan Temple, corner 7th Avenue and 14th Street, at 8 p. m. Ida Tarbell will be answered. "The Uneasy Woman," answered by Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale; "Making a Man of Herself," answered by Charlotte Perkins Gilman; "The Business of Being a Woman," answered by Rev. Anna Howard Shaw; "The Homeless Daughter," answered by Rheta Childe Dorr.

April 16.—Wage Earners' League of the Woman Suffrage Party at Christadora House, 147 Avenue B., at 8 p. m. Speakers, Mrs. F. C. Howe, Miss Elizabeth Freeman.

Fifteenth Assembly District: At the club house, 120 West 81st Street, at 8 p. m., Mrs. A. L. Livermore of Yonkers will give her Poster Talk.

(*Continued on page 35*)

PORTIA POLITICS—V.

By Edith Bailey.

Illustrated by May Wilson Preston.

PORTIA IN HER GARDEN

AS Portia in her garden with weeding rake and song
Was training up her roses, John Corncob came along:
"Good mornin', Marm," he ventured, "now you ain't any shirk,
Why, 'tisn't turned of six o'clock, and here you are at work.

"Wal, farmin's turrible ser'us, to get my milk to th' train
I must get up at three o'clock, and milk, and cool, and strain.
Prices go down, 'modities up, middleman gets the cash;
By all the signs of the times the nation's goin' to smash."

"Last night, my friend," laughed Portia, "we watched six stars downspill
And yet the universes are doing business still;
I hear you sell potatoes at prices that appall—
A dollar on the bushel more than farmers got last Fall."

John Corncob chuckled hoarsely; "Marm, you're as cute as two.
Perhaps, the farmin' natur do take things kinder blue.
I heard your man is runnin' for Gov. Republicun,
I'm sorry that I'm Dummycrat and must stand to my gun."

Quoth Portia, "Mr. Corncob, of course, you'll have to fight
For any principles you have, or what you think is right.
I am a Democrat myself and in the widest way,
Believing men and women should each one have his say.

"But tell me how you came to choose this Mr. Henry Heeler,
Whom all the world believes to be a guileful double dealer,
To run against my husband, a stainless knight insurgent,
'Tis thus you wreck your Party, when most its need is urgent."

John shifted his tobacco, and scratched his thatch of hair:
"Wal, Marm, I guess you're mostly right; Hank Heeler is hot air;
Hot air and boodle put him in; 'lections is bought and sold,
And us, the honest Dummycrats, gets left out in the cold."

"But do you honest Democrats attend the Primaries?"
John shifted. "Wal, not always," he said in minor key.
"We talk a lot of politics down at the old Elk's Lodge;
But when it comes to primaries, we kinder seem to dodge."

Portia leaned sadly on her rake. "There's so much work to do!
Why won't you let us women come and try to help you through?
The roads are kept in bad repair, the trees are most neglected,
There's waste and graft in everything, and justice is deflected.

Ah, if we women had the vote, we would try to do more
Than make and unmake Governments down at the village store;
We would refuse to tamely sit under the grafter's thrall;
When Heelers got in office, we'd practice at recall."

"Marm," replied John Corncob, "you got me on the rout.
We're in the wrong, I cede yer, to keep the women out;
And if you run for Governor, I want you here to note,
Republicun or Dummycrat, you'll have John Corncob's vote."

"As Portia in her garden with weeding rake and song
Was training up her roses, John Corncob came along."

eight hours the gentleman in question has "heard." She tells of one case where a legislator with whom she had had such a conversation stopped her the next day with a cheerful smile and said: "Well, I see you got your organization to work after what I said to you, for the letters and telegrams are coming in very lively today." Of course, it is true we have been fleered and flaunted as of old; we have taken a list of our Party enrollment of one or two thousand to an assemblyman and he would say quite contemptuously: "Oh, well, these are mostly names of women." A week or so later a list of names entirely of men and voters would be submitted, and the contemptuous answer would be, "Oh yes, but I only care what the women of my district say in this matter." Or, as another man said to the petitions of two or three hundred names of voters in his own Assembly District, after flipping over the pages with great indifference, "Ah, very well, —but who got these names, men or women?" The reply was: "Our canvassers and organizers, also captains and officers in the district." "Oh well, you know," came the response from the superior one, "men will sign just to please a woman. These do not mean anything."

In another case where it happened that a paid man canvasser had been working, the response was: "Oh well, these fellows who are paid canvassers will get names that are not valid at all."

In spite of all these ingenuous and gallant remarks *we know* that our legislators know that organization and canvassing mean something; that names on any kind of a petition, even if it were a petition to go to heaven, take time and money and energy to obtain, and we know, and they know, that all this petition work and this writing not only means something to them, but has left a trail of organization influence for the Woman Suffrage Party behind it in each district. The Woman Suffrage Party makes good, has made good, and will make good. Steady, unremitting work *and* coöperation will ever be its watchword.

H. B. L.

AT THE SIGN OF THE PURPLE SKIRT

THERE are many anti-suffragists who have no conception of the conditions in which working-girls labor and live. Here and there, however, appears one who has given some thought to the pressing problem, and her solution is worthy of attention.

Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer has recently advanced a suggestion in the Survey which is so typical of the remedies suggested by the anti-suffragists that we print it below.

To the Editor:

I often read of the hard times wage-earning girls have to clothe themselves. Many social students give the need of warm and decent clothing (not to speak of what is attractive), as one of the chief causes of moral shortcoming.

Now this letter is to suggest that some method be devised for handling slightly used clothing over to the self-respecting working women who do not care to apply to the usual charitable agencies. Most women heap all sorts of clothes upon their maids, who are already well dressed and well nourished. Domestic servants are beyond question better able to buy their own clothes than factory girls.

Can you suggest some central agency that will come forward to handle cast-off clothes and sell them at a nominal figure to wage-earners? I have given clothes to the Waverly House; but I want to see decent girls helped more. Perhaps we do too much for the submerged, and not enough for those to whom a helping hand means the retention of self-respect.

Can the Consumers' League undertake to see that the right women are reached? Or is it best to start a store, where the expenses can be met by the sales? The start could be made with dresses and coats; later on hats, shoes, etc., could be added. Some method must be devised whereby the right girls, the girls who really need help, are reached. Can it be done through the Working Girls' Clubs? I can see in my mind's eye a flourishing store with seamstresses engaged to alter dresses and make over hats at a nominal cost.

As the goods are all donated, the only expenses would be the rent and saleswomen. Incidentally, this will open more positions for women.

Is my plan feasible? I shall contribute at once a purple cloth skirt and coat and some shirt-waists; also a warm black cloth skirt.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

Isn't it typically "anti"? She has "often read" and "many social students give the need" of warm and decent clothing, etc. Yet with this fragmentary knowledge of working conditions, obtained from the reports of others, Mrs. Meyer has a quick remedy for amelioration. She is going to solve the problem of working girls' clothes by selling her second-hand purple skirts! Doubtless, some of Mrs. Meyer's friends who heretofore have been "heaping all sorts of clothes upon their maids," will donate some yellow skirts, while others will contribute red and green ones. It must be such a comfort to the rich to add a dash of color to the working girl's monotonous dress.

However, Mrs. Meyer is very careful to state that only the deserving girl is to be admitted to these rainbow privileges. She realizes that the self-respecting working girl does not want charity, that she would lose her self-respect if she accepted it, and so this charity is to be disguised. The working girl is not to know that she is an object of help. Instead of going to these wealthy women and asking for their cast-off clothes, the factory girl is to go to this "flourishing store" and buy the clothes.

No, Mrs. Meyer, the working girl does not want your cast-off clothes. She wants a fair wage and the right to vote in order to secure the opportunity for a normal life, and she will then be able to buy her own garments. Perhaps, she will not select a purple skirt, after all.

MARY MITCHELL.

When women get the right to vote,
And help to run the nation,
There is no doubt this rally shout
Will win by acclamation

LIPTON'S TEA

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HOW THE NEW WOMAN EVOLVED AND WHAT SHE IS DOING

WIDE-AWAKE women everywhere are feeling a mighty desire to arm themselves with ammunition in the incessant war being waged for woman suffrage. From all sides, come beseeching letters to various headquarters, asking for literature and information, in order that women may intelligently argue what they feel certain of, but are not sufficiently "posted" upon.

There are dozens of little leaflets; and there are huge books such as the volumes written by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,—but we know of no small, compact book, covering in an entertaining way, the *whole field of women's activities,* except *The New Womanhood,* by Winnifred Harper Cooley.

Chapters headed "The Eternal Feminine" and "The Bachelor Maiden" are alluring from the first. "The Evolution of the New Woman" begins with Sappho who "loved and sang, and *founded the first woman's club* in the sunny isles of Greece, *six hundred years before Christ!*" We learn of Aspasia, the wife of Pericles, who, with him, "found Athens brick and left it marble"; and was vilified and her reputation besmirched because she insisted upon intellectual companionship with the great men of the Golden Age. This chapter alone, given orally, won Mrs. Cooley fame as a lecturer, in the West.

Very modern American problems are touched in a vital way, in "Co-education and Democracy," "Woman's Place in the World's Work," "The Future of the Woman's Club," "The New Domesticity," "The Problem of Human Propagation,"—and many useful facts and statistics are presented in "The Women in Trades and Professions," and "Women in Civil Office and Civic Reform."

The last chapter is a stirring one on woman suffrage, entitled "WOMAN AS CITIZEN." This not only gives an impassioned plea for woman's enfranchisement, but most interesting figures and facts from the States that were first to enfranchise women. It is surprising and gratifying to learn, for instance, that Wyoming which has had women voters for over forty years, has the smallest divorce record of any State in the Union!

We can conscientiously claim that no up-to-date woman ought to be without this volume in her library.

There are *only about fifty copies left* of the third edition; and THE WOMAN VOTER has arranged to sell these through its columns, thus making a little sum of money for the CAUSE.

Price $1.00 if ordered through us at once.

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THE POLICEWOMAN OF LOS ANGELES

THE lone policewoman of Los Angeles, Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, is justifying her appointment and stands as a unique figure in the profession by reason of her emphasis upon preventive measures. Who ever heard of a policeman advocating a "wide and fearless system of education in social hygiene among both men and women?" This is but one of the motives which actuates Mrs. Wells in her work. In a recent article in *The Federation Courier,* entitled "Are Policewomen Needed?" Mrs. Wells says:

> It means that as a part of a sincere and scientific age we must go to the bottom of the whole question, elements of which are living wages, congenial social companions, safe, comfortable abodes, proper intellectual and moral stimulants, with a little mothering for the homeless, both boys and girls.
>
> The police department has always been the place where the effect of social ills piles up in the shape of human wreckage. From this vantage point, what department of organized society should be better able to help discern the causes?
>
> Now that the tide everywhere has set in toward prevention, it seems but reasonable to feel that sympathetic, intelligent policewomen working in all of our cities should increase the efficiency of the police departments and help work out some of the cities' vexing questions. One other factor should not be under-estimated; women inevitably will take a constant and larger interest and part in municipal affairs. The presence of the woman police officer gives the public spirited club women and others a natural, usuable channel through which to study causes and help apply remedies.

The Woman Voter

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THE *Times-Union* of Albany of March 12 closes an announcement of the Women's Exhibition in Berlin during March with this comment: "There will be women doctors, lawyers, journalists, authors, ministers, politicians, etc. . . . But—women of every civilized nation in the world—what progress can you show in that greatest of woman's professions—Motherhood? Are you creating a new generation, better equipped physically, mentally and spiritually to meet the experiences which must come to it, than you did in the days before you were emancipated? The true test of the development of each generation lies in its ability to make life truer, broader, happier for succeeding generations."

We accept this test. It is just because women have become doctors; lawyers; journalists, peering into all the seamy depths of human misery; authors describing for those, who otherwise might sit in darkness, the hideous menaces to the physical and spiritual well-being of the young, which exist in society; politicians realizing the sources of corruption which are opposing child labor bills, the recommendations of vice commissions, and pure food—that women have begun to learn what motherhood means in its big social significance. Not until they are emanicpated politically can they lay the foundation for a truer, broader and happier life for the succeeding generations. Women have just learned to love children. The old-fashioned type of woman, shut off from all contact with the social environment of her grown children, especially her boys, did not understand or love children as does the modern woman, who considers that her maternity extends to the industrial and social protection of her boys and girls. It is because our young girls' bodies and souls are being destroyed in the factories and marts of trade that women are reaching out after them to provide them with the conditions which will make them nobler, healthier and happier and enable them, as well as the well-fed, smug, complacent women, to propagate their kind with advantage to the world. Such editorials as that of the *Times-Union* are the very kind to make bricks seem the only answer.

SOMETIMES the question is asked: "What would women do with the ballot if they had it?" Locally, we might suggest—we, who are bearing the burden of trying to provide our families with decent water these days—that a very profitable action by the women would center about the water supply. It is a disgrace that New York has never had a filtration plant, and hard to understand why not, when one remembers the chances for contractors' loot involved in the undertaking. We surely have borne the present state of affairs long enough. Furthermore, if we women could vote we might profitably prepare for ice distribution this coming Summer to avoid the tragic plight in which the poor mothers found themselves last Summer. A municipal ice plant is not an unheard of scheme and offers no terrors to voting mothers, for their main interest is, as it should be, children. These are but two suggestions—by the way.

PERHAPS the chief discussion of the past month has centered around the effect of militancy on the suffrage movement. One of the sanest comments we have seen was by Prof. Franklin Giddings of Columbia, who expressed the opinion in one of the evening papers that time alone could tell whether the latest action of the militant English suffragettes was wise. We hope our readers will agree that the only question involved is one of tactics. The English women have steadfastly refused to injure lives, giving their own rather as a sacrifice to that cause which is to them righteous from the standpoint of social justice and vital from the standpoint of social needs. Just in proportion to their realization of the iniquities of our present industrial system will women's patience wane, and a serious attempt therefore should be made to understand women whose patience has been exhausted.

Fortunately for American women, our States are rapidly enfranchising them without militancy, but thousands of English women feel that they can never secure the vote by peaceable methods. At any rate, the agitation carried on in England for the past five years is bringing full adult suffrage into practical politics as a result of the Government's repressive tactics and winning for the movement therefore such powerful friends as the Independent Labour Party and Miss Mary MacArthur, of the organized women workers.

THE *Cleveland Plain Dealer* has been having some exceedingly clever cartoons about suffrage which are sure to drive good points home to the people. A recent one represented Hon. Theodore Roosevelt as trying to see how near he could skate to a wide hole in the ice labeled "Equal Suffrage."

JUDGE has had a wonderful response to its prize contest offer. Ten dollars as an award for the ten best arguments for woman suffrage within a compass of a few hundred words brought forth over fifteen hundred competitors. These represented all parts of the United States, the Canal Zone, England, Europe and New Zealand. For announcement of the prize winner, see the issue of *Judge* for March 24. This contest was an encouraging indication of suffrage interest in the United States.

THE tone of the New York press toward suffragists is decidedly improving. The latest open supporter is the *Evening Sun*, and its editorials have cheered the hearts of its women readers and delighted the intelligent men of the community as well. We have heard constant expressions of appreciation. The attitude of the *Post* and the *Journal* is well known to be sympathetic.

DRESS under the editorship of Anita Hunt has a big idea, namely, to portray the significance of dress sociologically, even to the point of explaining suffrage and supporting it. Some of the subjects to be discussed in the forthcoming numbers are as follows: The Real Manufacturer; For the Youth Commerce Buys Cheap—the Nation Pays High; Dress and the Night Court; Women and Wool; What the Feather Trade Means to Women Wage Earners; Up! On! Let US Follow the Distaff; Fashion's Interest in the Factory. Of course, the whole magazine will not be turned over to philosophical or labor studies. There will still be the styles and fashion notes; but this grasp of their meaning is a sign of the times and Miss Hunt is to be congratulated on her realization of it and her publishers on their insight into the new things women are demanding of their peculiar papers.

THE Anti-Suffrage, Anti-Socialist, Anti-Divorce League is in full swing now. Suffragists are therefore receiving both anonymous and signed communications containing personal attacks on certain suffrage leaders, but in spite of the fact that most of the suffragists are not socialists and many of them are opposed to divorce, this concerted movement by "antis" seems to be understood by all the suffragists and its methods of attack stand condemned.

DON'T forget The Woman Suffrage Party Benefit on April 2. For particulars see page 13. Also sign parade pledge slips and be counted among those who want to have an active share in the great woman's movement. Tell your men friends and relatives that the men are to march with us—at least 5,000 strong this time, according to Mr. Laidlaw of the Men's League.

JUST A QUESTION

THERE are some questions which are not only hard to answer, but which, when asked, keep on bothering people as if they were human and alive, and had some sharp instrument to prod us with.

Such a question is this one, which a much-loved doctor of divinity in Chicago asked the other day: "Is there any reason why Jane Addams would not make as good and creditable a senator as William Lorimer?"

The question sticks, because the whole State of Illinois knows Jane Addams, and knows that she is one of the great ones of the earth—that she possesses brains as well as character, and acumen as well as goodness.

The State of Illinois would make a fine swap if it could put Jane Addams in the place of Lorimer. So there isn't any answer to the good doctor's question, except an echo.—*Evening Mail,* March 16.

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SUFFRAGE IN MARCH

THE past month was a noteworthy one in the progress of equal suffrage. First the Ohio Constitutional Convention voted to submit the question of the enfranchisement of women to the voters next Autumn. This means that a break has been made in the Central States which will stimulate the neighboring country to like action. Indiana has as a slogan now: "Indiana Next!" and Illinois is making rapid strides toward enfranchisement. The suffragists of New Jersey held their hearing at Trenton on the 12th, which was made especially significant by the presence of Miss Melinda Scott, the young leader of the Hat Trimmers' Union, and an official in the Women's Trade Union League of New York. We print on page 23 the substance of her speech.

Equally significant was the prominence given to the working women's point of view at the congressional hearings on March 13th. Congressman Victor Berger, the Socialist from Milwaukee, having introduced the Suffrage Bill into the House, it was fitting that Socialist women be heard at the hearing and their point of view was presented by Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips of Milwaukee and Miss Caroline Lowe. Miss Leonora O'Reilly of New York also argued for the right of the working women to have a voice in government. She said:

"Meantime they are speeding us up. They are burning us alive. We of the Triangle fire in New York know that after we had been burned alive for gain, for when we went to the courts and tried to get justice, how we failed.

"When the men come to you with the power of the ballot behind them you heed them. That is the reason we want the ballot. So that we may stand before Legislatures and courts equal with men.

"Let us take our legitimate weapons into politics. Let us take the broom and the mop in hand and clean our political house. You've got things into a mess; now turn them over to us. You have never shirked placing the burden on us since the days of Adam and Eve; give it to us now. We are on the job.

"You think you want to protect us, to care for us. Well, you've made a pretty poor job of it. We want the ballot so we can straighten out the political mess you have made."

Miss Jane Addams took charge of this congressional work and was present herself to argue most ably for the cause.

New York also has been bombarding its Legislature to grant the voters of the State the right to be heard on this matter of justice to its women. For a statement of the month's work at Albany, see page 3.

The following announcement appears in the March number of the *McAlpinite*, the paper of the McAlpin Literary Society of 344 West Thirty-sixth Street, which is a church society, composed of young boys of 14:

A woman should be allowed to vote;

Because she is as human as man;

Because she must suffer from his laws which is contrary to the law of nature and God that no person shall think or act for another;

Because as a non-voter she is classed with imbecils, convicts, degenerates and animals, and

Because she is God's medium for bettering the race.

A man who would not allow a woman to vote insults his mother, to whom he owes his life;

He makes his sister an inferior and says she is not his equal;

He belittles the sex that is better than he both morally and spiritually;

And the man who decries woman suffrage fears something which he cannot define and by fearing he likens himself to a coward and fear shows ignorance.

WHY WORKING WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

THE speech of Miss Melinda Scott, treasurer of the Women's Trade Union League, at the suffrage hearing in Trenton, was on "Why Working Women Want the Vote." She said:

"I am one of the representatives of the organized Hat Trimmers of Newark, N. J., with a membership of over 1,000 women, who have indorsed women's suffrage and protest against being disenfranchised because we need the ballot to help us to secure laws that will protect our labor, and because we are part of the people who feed and house and clothe the world, and because we earn our own living and are not charges upon the community or State, and any women that can do that under the present economic system ought not to be classed as imbeciles, lunatics or idiots.

"Every one knows that the women are away from the homes working in all kinds of industries, but all persons are not yet convinced that they are there from necessity rather than from choice. Such is the fact however.

"In industry we have learned a great many things. First that we must form trade unions like the men to protect ourselves and our brother working men, who are very often injured by the low wages paid to women.

"The trade unions have educated us along the lines of fire prevention, sanitation, picketing laws, injunctions, police administration, liability of union funds for confiscation, and we know that these things are matters of legislation and enforcement. The latter is as much a political matter as the former.

"We know the causes of overcrowding, tuberculosis, adulterated food, and we want a chance to deal with them.

"We want a law that will prevent prison labor from competing with the women and men in the factories.

"We know that all home work done in tenements is a deadly menace to all of society, both by reason of its unsanitary aspects and its tendency to cutting down the wages of the women employed in the factories.

"We want a minimum wage scale for sweated industries.

"We want an eight-hour day. The hours for working women are too long, and when we know that the majority of the working women of the United States are under 21 years of age, and it has been proved that the long and continuous hours of labor are causing injuries to our women which will react on the future generations, it is time that we realize that the wealth of a nation depends upon the health of its people.

"Up to the present time in New Jersey there is no law limiting the hours of women in industry. Last year there was a bill presented to the Legislature asking that the hours of women be limited to ten hours a day. It was lost, and again this year a bill has been presented which big business is trying to kill.

"Think you if the women had the ballot they would have allowed New Jersey to fall so far behind the times as to have made no provision or protection for its 75,000 women in industry?

"We want child labor abolished. We have seen the evils of child labor in our own families, and we know that this, too, is a political question. We want a law that will protect the children, and give them a happier and a glad childhood. We want them to go to school instead of the factory, and to have an education that will fit them for life and its most serious duties. We want a law to prohibit the employment of pregnant women two months before and after childbirth.

"In the labor unions the working woman finds power. She can demand respect from her employer or those in charge of the factory. She can do something toward obtaining a shorter day and a living wage, and she realizes what her power would be if she had the ballot. She could obtain through legislation the appointment of women labor commissioners and factory inspectors, who would be compelled to work earnestly and faithfully for the interests of women and children.

"Disenfranchisement helps to keep women's wages down; the lack of direct political influence is one great reason.

"Women need the ballot because there are two kinds of morality, one for the women and one for the men.

"We have seen our underpaid and overworked sisters succumb to the temptations held out to them by designing men, and we have seen them discriminated against in the courts by the laws made by men.

"Men legislating as a class for women as a class have done exactly what every other ruling class has done throughout the history of the world. They have discriminated against the class that have no legal voice.

"No class has ever yet proved itself equal to legislate justly for any other class.

"Working women need to be respected by men and political equality will do more than anything else to promote this. The ballot is an educator and women will become more wise in using it.

"The working class realizes that their industrial organization needs the power of the ballot to maintain its existence, and this is especially true of the working woman. She needs the ballot to protect her interests in industry."

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In the sixties Switzerland was not dissimilar from America. It was ruled by the railroads, the bankers and the business men. The magazine articles and histories describing that period used the same terms with which we are familiar. Switzerland adopted the initiative and referendum. It democratized the government. It took into its confidence those who didn't understand politics.

To-day Switzerland is free from graft. It knows no corruption. The people took over the railroads. They have adopted comprehensive accident and workmen's insurance. The cities own the public utility corporations. Switzerland is happy in its democracy. It is ruled by those who don't understand politics.

A dozen years ago I was in Wisconsin. The State was then in the midst of a civil conflict over the adoption of the Direct Primary Bill, which at that time existed in none of the States. Special privilege said that people did not understand politics. We must not extend power to them. We, the railroads, the franchise corporations, the bosses, alone understand politics. We will give the people such government as is good for them. Wisconsin secured the direct primary. It trusted those whom privilege said did not understand politics. To-day Wisconsin is the most progressive State in America; it is being run by the people for the people. It controls the railroads and public service corporations. It protects the workman. It has enacted the most progressive woman, child and factory legislation. The university has gone out to the whole State in its educational activities. In twelve years' time Wisconsin has become the model commonwealth in America.

For years Oregon was ruled by the railroads, the timber thieves and privileged interests. United States senatorships were sold on the auction-block. Corruption was universal. The State was not unlike many of our Eastern ones. The proposal was made to adopt the initiative and referendum. Privilege said, "The people do not understand politics. They must not be given this power."

Direct legislation was adopted in 1902. In eight years the people have used this instrument sixty-four times. They have adopted thirty-two laws and defeated an equal number. They adopted one of the most perfect primary laws in the United States. They added a provision for the direct election of United States senators. They adopted a presidential primary. The people themselves devised this new idea, which is sweeping over the country. They gave their cities home rule. They adopted a workmen's compensation act, and took the kinks and angles out of their political systems. The people in Oregon who did not understand politics achieved these reforms.

No, woman does not understand politics. Possibly her ignorance is a political asset. She will bring a fresh mind to the problem. She is not in terror of the danger of change. She has no veneration for party problems or dead issues. She will vote in terms of to-morrow rather than in terms of the civil war.

In addition, the kitchen, rather than the camp, has become the political storm center. To-day politics is a war against poverty, vice, impure food, the dangers of the factory and the mill to the child and woman worker. Politics are domestic, not military. They relate to things involving health, comfort, convenience, the upbuilding of the art of living together. These problems affect woman more intimately than man. She will not vote for a hunger tariff, once convinced that it is a hunger tariff. If hysterical it will be over the wrongs of the family rather than the wrongs at which Wall Street, the railroads and the privileged interests complain.

The inexperience and political ignorance of women may be an asset of great value, just as the inexperience and ignorance of the lately enfranchised classes in other countries have brought in their greatest reforms.

FREDERIC C. HOWE.

IT WILL DESTROY CHIVALRY

THE question of equal suffrage has nothing to do with the so-called decay of chivalry. Chivalry is an institution of the past; and its passing away is the result of a changed attitude toward life and of modern economic conditions. The institution, like its name, is obnoxious to democracy. The very word is a horsey word, not a human one. As Charles Sumner declared over fifty years ago: "The age of chivalry has gone. An age of humanity has come. The horse, whose importance, more than human, gave the name to that early period of gallantry and war, now yields his foremost place to man." Meanwhile, since Sumner's day the horse has been supplanted by trolley cars, with all that they typify in the way of social and economic change.

Sumner hit the mark when he associated chivalry with "gallantry and war." For chivalry belonged to a system of society, established by men of the privileged class to satisfy and justify their brutal lust of war, and was the artificial varnish of ideals and manners with which they glossed over their brutality and licentiousness. Chivalry at the top of the social scale has always involved slavery, either actual or virtual, at the bottom. Moreover, its gallantry was expended quite as often on the mistress as the wife. More often, indeed, at the time of the Renais-

sance, when Platonic love was the fad. For when the perverted imagination of men had idealized woman into a creature of superhuman perfections and set her up on a pedestal to be adored, not for her actual self and her true possibilities of womanhood, but for qualities with which man had invested her to satisfy his own ideas, the wife remained in the background, breeding children for her lord, while chivalry was expended on the mistress.

And even such chivalry ceased to be an expression of physical or spiritual enthusiasm and became a mere convention of fashion. For example, it was because it was the *correct thing* to do that Henri II. of France took Diane de Poitiers, a lady twenty years his senior, to be his mistress, and enlarged and decorated Fontainebleau in her honor and erected for her use the palatial Château d'Anet. Meanwhile the poets of France contributed the incense of their admiration. Du Bellay, for example, addressed a poem to Diane: "God has made you appear among us like a miracle, that you may possess the soul of this great King, whose faith is inviolable, and that his affection through your perfection may burn with a holy flame."

Nor was such poisonous nonsense as this confined to the past. In our own day it still clings about what is left of chivalry: that thing of shreds and tatters which is stuck up as a scarecrow in the path of progress. For it is the qualities of a mistress in the woman that the so-called chivalry of to-day still extolls. It invites her wiles of allurement; encourages her to wheedle, cajole and woo. Meanwhile the independent womanliness in her it smothers with the incense of flattery. It would keep her the doll to man's desires; the puppet to his pleasures.

Every stage in woman's physical, mental and spiritual advancement chivalry has done its futile worst to block. It denied her equal rights of education; it is now with its skeleton arm endeavoring to bar her from the inevitable result, to which the use she has made of education has entitled her.

Meanwhile this precious chivalry still involves a virtual slavery. To enjoy its artificial benefits the woman must still be the servant of the man's conveniences. She must make him a home and breed him children or chivalry is not for her. The woman who is not invited or does not wish to occupy this favored position is outside of chivalry. Chivalry takes no account of the working girl or woman, who whether from choice or compulsion of necessity is doing her work and man's work in the outside world. Chivalry in the parlor asks permission of the ladies before it lights its cigar; but in the office without question puffs the smoke in the tired eyes of its stenographer or expectorates on the floor which some exhausted widow will have to scrub.

To-day, when a man treats a woman with decency and respect, it is not because of chivalry, but humanity; and because he recognizes that economic conditions have brought about a change in the mutual status of man and woman. He is impelled by a sense of equal justice and welcomes equal suffrage in the hope that it will put a final quietus to the hypocritical selfishness of chivalry.

CHARLES H. CAFFIN.

WOMEN ARE NOT READY FOR IT

THE test of readiness is opportunity. Readiness for an activity, individual or social, cannot be determined until the opportunity is reached. But when we see a large group of our fellow beings striving intelligently and earnestly for a chance to take on a heavy social responsibility, as in the case of the women who seek the ballot, and when they recognized in it an obligation rather than a privilege we may safely assume a readiness for that responsibility.

The ballot is a device by which an individual opinion may be made effective in a political democracy. Woman's training fits her preeminently to form an opinion, to which she may not as yet give political expression, on those matters of administration which most vitally affect the welfare of the individual and the State. Fundamentally the affairs of government are more nearly related to the home than to the business office, although man, who seems to have been born with a ballot in his hand, has used it to pervert the normal functions of government. There is almost no field of human activity which she has not touched. And there has never been any question of her readiness to undertake new and larger activities as long as they left her dependent. It is only when she seeks this new political activity, which will make her an independent unit in our imperfect democracy that the question of her readiness is raised.

I spent a week in Lawrence, Mass., where 25,000 men and women workers in the woolen mills are on strike for a living wage. I wondered why the men weren't on the picket lines. I investigated and found out. The officers of the union found that the men lacked self-control. Then women were tried. They were not less courageous than the men, but they were calmer, more rational and less violent in their treatment of the non-union workers, more effective in their work, and rioting ceased. The sight of those women on the picket line answered a lot of objections to suffrage such as the ignorant foreign vote and the question of readiness. They could vote intelligently to-morrow if they had the chance.

JOSEPH O'BRIEN.

Mrs. Bannister Merwin generously consented to prepare the news items for this issue, even on very short notice.—*Ed.*

AN interesting meeting of the Third District was held at Kenmare Hall, 39 Spring Street, on the 17th of February, Miss Lavinia Dock presiding. About a hundred men and women were present and the entire program was in Italian. A large number of circulars printed in Italian had been distributed. The speakers were Arthur Caroti and Louis Cavallaro. There was a delightful "picture talk" by Mrs. Duncan, translated by Mrs. Hammond. Twenty-six new enrollments were a part of the result of this first meeting for Italians.

A MEETING of the Second and Eighth Districts combined was held on March 4. This resolution was unanimously passed: We demand the submission of the amendment to the constitution conceding equal suffrage. A copy of this resolution was sent to the assemblymen of the Second and Eighth Districts. Miss L. L. Dock presided. About thirty were present, and ten enrolled as new members of the Party. The meeting was at New Henry Hall, 4 East Henry Street.

ON March 4 at the Friends' Seminary in Stuyvesant Square was held the regular meeting of the Twelfth Assembly District. Mrs. McAfee, in the costume of a Norwegian peasant, gave a most interesting talk about conditions in Norway and Sweden. On the evening of the 15th, at the same place, a large audience heard Mary Shaw's suffrage play, "An Impressionistic Sketch of an Anti-Suffrage Meeting," presented by Mary Shaw and the Twenty-five Players of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District. In addition there was music by pupils of the Music Settlement and a talk on "Suffrage and Femininity" by Mary L. Wheeler, who took up an original line of argument with good effect.

A MASS meeting of the Twenty-first Assembly District took place on March 12. In spite of the stormy weather, there were one hundred people present, the majority of whom were men. Professor Beard, Miss Leonora O'Reilly and B. Russell Herts spoke. There were many parade pledges signed and fifteen enrollments taken for the Party. Mrs. Albert Plimpton, leader of the district, presided. Many who were present, had never attended a suffrage meeting before and the interest was keen.

AT the People's Tabernacle on March 7 a good sized audience gathered for the meeting of the Twenty-sixth Assembly District, where Miss Lena M. Chapman is leader. There was a special program consisting of a lantern slide lecture by Miss Burritt, recitation by Miss Sheeder and songs by Miss Hildebrand. VOTERS, buttons and pencils were sold and sixteen names enrolled on the lists of the Party. Mrs. James Laidlaw and Mrs. Henry Villard were the speakers.

THE Twenty-seventh Assembly District was very active during March. Three new captains were appointed. A Study Club was started with Mrs. Martin, of 227 West Forty-fifth Street, as president. Miss Geneva Morgan was also made chairman of a Study Club for colored women who are showing great interest in gaining all the information they can on the suffrage question. There was the regular monthly meeting of the district on March 5 at 180 Madison Avenue at which Rustom Rustomjee, of the *Oriental Review,* spoke, as did also Mrs. Laidlaw and Mrs. Weeks, the leader of the Twenty-seventh Assembly District. These gatherings have been successful financially as well as socially. The Colored Branch of the Y. W. C. A. held a meeting on March 12 when Miss Inez Milholland, Mrs. Weeks and Mrs. Villard spoke. It was a most enthusiastic meeting and many parade pledges were signed. Through the courtesy of Mr. Eldridge, the Windsor Trust Company is to be decorated on May 4.

THE Thirtieth Assembly District met on the 23rd of February at the Republican headquarters, 112 East 125th Street. Alderman Percy L. Davis, of this district, in a courteous speech, welcomed the women of the Party to the headquarters. Mrs. Hackstaff gave an interesting and instructive talk and close attention was paid to all she had to say. A unique feature was a collection of flags representing all the countries where equal suffrage is now a law. Our own flag headed the multi-colored group, as

Mrs. Hackstaff aptly put it, "in the faith that it would lead, and before long."

THE Tuesday evenings of the Fifteenth Assembly District were exceptionally instructive and enjoyable during the month just past. On the 5th Mrs. Ida Husted Harper addressed the meeting. On the 12th Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston, vice-president of the American Peace Society, spoke on "Women as Defenders of the Republic." A small audience was present, owing to the inclement weather. Mrs. Mead's talk was full of interesting data and opened up subjects for future consideration. It is to be hoped that some of the other districts may have an opportunity to listen to Mrs. Mead on this topic of world-wide interest. At this same meeting there were present Colonel William de H. Washington, a descendant of our first president, and Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University. These Tuesday evening gatherings are held at 120 West Eighty-first Street, the local headquarters of the Fifteenth Assembly District.

AT the Women's Graduate Club in Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, on the 1st of March, Miss Marion Burritt, leader of the Nineteenth Assembly District, spoke on the district work of the Woman Suffrage Party. This is such a very important and fundamental subject that too much stress could not be laid upon it. From leader to captain, from captain to assistants, and thence to those who form the main body of our Party, this would seem to be the logical and most effective means of working. And in this manner too every one "gets busy" and becomes an active rather than a passive member of the Party. Another meeting in the Nineteenth Assembly District was on the 20th of February at 215 West 101st Street, the residence of Mrs. Anderson. About one hundred persons were present. Miss La Follette and Miss Sutton spoke. A collection was taken and sixteen new members enrolled.

THE Twenty-third Assembly District is decidedly busy. At the Tammany Hall headquarters 510 West 145th Street, on February 29, there was a very enthusiastic meeting. About two hundred were present. Many VOTERS were sold and subscriptions taken. Mrs. Montague Glass, leader of the district, was chairman. Mrs. Frederick Nathan was one of the speakers and Miss Freeman, Mr. Griffin Barry and Mr. Edward Barker also made short addresses.

INTEREST in the Twenty-fifth Assembly District is alive and keen. As a result of the three plays presented by The Twenty-five Players at the Metropolitan Temple on February 2, there has been a great demand for the reproduction of the plays and they have been loaned to other districts and organizations since that time. There were several parlor and captains' meetings during February, Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore being one of the most attractive speakers at these affairs. At the Pen and Brush Club, 132 East Nineteenth Street, Mrs. Bannister Merwin gave a suffrage tea on the 6th of March. Mrs. Howe addressed an interested lot of women who kept her busy answering questions long after she ended her regular address. Eleven women were enrolled as members of the Party.

THE big event of March in the Twenty-fifth District was on the 11th inst. An original program was carried out delightfully, the Metropolitan Temple being packed inside and with an overflow meeting on the outside. The following program was presented. Further mention of the "Twenty-five Questions Answered by Twenty-five Speakers" will be found on page 8.

SOMETHING NEW IN A SUFFRAGE PROGRAM.

MARIE JENNEY HOWE, Leader, Chairman.

OBJECTIONS AND SPEAKERS.

1. "It Would Unsex Women"—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.
2. "It Would Make Women Less Attractive"—Hutchins Hapgood.
3. "Woman's Place is in the Home"—Inez Milholland.
4. "Women Are Angels"—George Middleton.
5. "Men Would Cease to Love Us"—Swinburne Hale.
6. "Women Are Already Overburdened"—Sadie American.
7. "Women Are Represented Now"—Dr. Howard Woolston.
8. "The Ballot Means the Bullet"—Inez Haynes Gilmore.
9. "What About the Undesirable Women?"—Maude Minor.
10. "Women Are Different From Men"—Harriet B. Laidlaw.
11. "Women Aren't Ready For It"—Robert Bruère.
12. There Is Nothing in the Ballot"—James Lees Laidlaw.
13. "Women Don't Understand Politics"—Frederic C. Howe.
14. "It Would Increase Corruption"—Lincoln Steffens.

15. "It Would Increase Divorce"—George H. Gilman.
16. "It Would Create Sex Antagonism"—Griffin Barry.
17. "It Would Destroy Chivalry"—Charles E. Caffin.
18. "Indirect Influence Is Enough"—Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale.
19. Women Cannot Defend Their Right to Vote"—Maud Nathan.
20. "They Wouldn't Use It If They Had It"—Elizabeth Gerberding.
21. "They Would Take All the Offices from the Men"—Fola La Follette.
22. "There Are Too Many Voters Already"—Gilbert E. Roe.
23. "Women Would Try To Make Men Good in Too Great a Hurry"—Bertha Rembaugh.
24. "It Is Just But Not Expedient"—Morris Hillquit.
25. "Militancy Hurts the Cause"—Elizabeth Freeman, of England.

IN the Fourteenth District a meeting was held on the 15th of February at 335 East Thirty-first Street, Miss Wilbur, presiding. Miss Freeman addressed a group of women who wish to organize a series of drawing room meetings for the purpose of gaining further information on the woman's suffrage question.

THE BRONX.

THE month of March saw many meetings in the Bronx. Mrs. A. C. Fisk, Borough chairman, has spent the major part of the past few weeks in Albany in the interests of the suffrage bill. In the meantime her leaders have not been idle.

Mrs. Hoag, the new leader of the Thirtieth Assembly District, held a splendid meeting at the Republican Club rooms, 112 East 125th Street; Mrs. Swan, leader of the Thirty-fifth Assembly District, a meeting at the Park Republican Club rooms, Fordham; Mrs. James T. Penfield of the Thirty-second Assembly District, a meeting in Williamsbridge, under the auspices of the Williamsbridge Branch of the Woman's Suffrage Party. The Thirty-fourth Assembly District has opened a second permanent headquarters for regular meetings at the Lyceum, 162d Street East, just off Prospect Avenue, and near the Prospect Avenue Subway Station.

The first meeting in this place was held on March 13, Miss F. G. Yoeman reading Olive Schriner's "Woman and Labor." Regular meetings are now held every Tuesday evening of each month; the first and third Tuesday evenings at the Lodge Room Hall, McKinley Square Theatre

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Building, on Boston Road near 169th Street, and the second and fourth Tuesday evenings in Lyceum Hall, 162d Street East, near Prospect Avenue.

The McKinley Square Theatre management will make Thursday, March 28, Woman Suffrage Day at their theatre, which will be decorated with the suffrage pennants, flags, etc., and will, between acts, assemble the entire opera company on the stage, each carrying a suffrage pennant, and the prima donna, Miss Nella Brown, an ardent suffragist, will make a short address and then introduce the speaker. This program will be given both at the matinee and evening performances.

Mrs. Tonjes is publishing a weekly penny newspaper in the interest of her work. It is called *Woman's Cause.* It fills a long-felt want for a cheap medium of current information that can be given away as well as sold in our big city of the Bronx, where so little is known of suffrage and where so little has been done for the cause.

Mrs. H. Secor-Tonjes.

April 12th—Benefit for the Woman's Political Union at the Republic Theatre, "A Dream of Fair Women." The mob scene from "Votes for Women," etc.

Have you signed a pledge to march in the Parade?

Mrs. Mary Beard,
Editor The Woman Voter:
My dear Mrs. Beard:

On account of the thoughtful class of people to whom your periodical makes appeal and in view of the success of much humanitarian work initiated and carried on by women, would it be permissible to make a suggestion on these lines through the columns of The Woman Voter?

It has recently been my sad experience—almost bewildering experience—to come into contact with several and to hear of many more competent, capable, well-educated women who have been months looking for employment, answering advertisements and registering in bureaus, alike, in vain.

One of these thoroughly disheartened ones is an actress, whose experience and success in the past should guarantee, one would think, work in the present, as she is still under thirty. Another is a teacher equally well experienced in her line, but having given up her position for some months on account of serious illness at home, she has now been looking for as many more months for any position that a well-educated, capable, practical woman could satisfactorily fill. Her conclusion now is that there are dozens of competent applicants for every vacancy that occurs. So with every wish to work, and well equipped to do so, no work can be obtained.

This, we realize upon inquiry, is the pathetic and cruel experience of many thousands of men and women in our large cities to-day. "Cruel," because we believe that there must be some way of mitigating, if not of curing, this deplorable economic condition.

I am, therefore, making a tentative suggestion through the columns of your periodical, feeling that it will thus reach the men and women who would be both willing and competent to consider the matter further, and who might probably work out a plan of salvation.

My suggestion is the establishment of government employment bureaus in large cities. The idea is not, you perhaps know, a new one, as these government bureaus are already established and are proving a great success in Germany to-day. These central bureaus would have their agencies in the outlying smaller cities and suburban towns, and both the workers and the vacancies would be reported to them. The need, therefore, and the one who could best fill it would be brought together, and much of the pathos and tragedy of our great cities be eliminated.

In most cases, as we all realize, work means salvation, while enforced unemployment spells physical and often moral ruin. It would seem, therefore, that this need is a pivotal one, and if not in the special way suggested, then in some other way, men as well as women, could do much along this line for the salvation of their brothers and sisters.

It is the desire to initiate or to have a voice in the initiating of such legislation suggested here that makes women, who realize these conditions, so eager for the vote.

Sincerely,
Frances E. M. Roberts.

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NOW ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE SURVEY

HER FIRST SIX ARTICLES

[Not necessarily in the order named]

The New Basis of the Demand for Equal Suffrage.

The Recent Agitation for a Minimum Wage.

Humanitarian Values of Social Service.

The Pending Treaties for International Arbitration.

Is Police Corruption Inevitable?

Dangers of Social Self-Righteousness.

Beginning in April, Miss Jane Addams becomes, on a volunteer basis, an Associate Editor of THE SURVEY, the national journal of social service.

Workers for the common welfare the country over will thus share from month to month in the leadership, the quick inspiration and the practical service for humanity which have hitherto been the especial good fortune of Chicago.

Miss Addams will bring to bear on current events the democracy, the social ethics, the newer ideals, the spirit of youth and cities, which have infused her longer writings and which she has wrought into her more than twenty years at Hull House.

On THE SURVEY'S staff she is associated with Edward T. Devine, Graham Taylor, and the host of social workers whose hard-won experience of the facts of life and labor in this stirring age is here shared with all who will read and learn.

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This book is being published by subscription. Send $1.25 to Isadora H. Dix, 169 West 98th St., New York City, N. Y., or send your promise that you will pay for the book on delivery.

April 19.—Twenty-fifth Assembly District: Leap Year dance from 8 to 12 p. m. in the ballroom of the Grand Opera House, corner 8th Avenue and 23d Street. Tickets admitting lady with gentleman, $2.00. Extra gentlemen 50 cents each. Tickets in charge of Mrs. Paul Thompson, 74 Irving Place.

April 23.—Fifteenth Assembly District: At the club house, 120 West 81st Street, at 8 p. m., mock debate on "Woman Suffrage" by Mrs. Anna Ross Weeks, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. F. C. Howe and Mrs. Frederick Nathan. Mrs. Winifred Harper Cooley will speak.

Perhaps, as Mr. Barnes says, we have not yet made woman suffrage a political issue. Nevertheless, an assemblyman remarked to one of our workers the other day, "No, I don't believe in woman suffrage, but I will tell you frankly that I think it will be bad in the future to have gone on record as having voted against it." Moreover, one of our organizers downtown in approaching two Tammany district leaders begging that telegrams should be sent at the last moment found that they had already sent word to their assemblymen, advising them to vote in favor of the woman suffrage amendment. There has been more serious political discussion of this question than ever before. The president of the Republican Club of the 19th A. D., Mr. William C. Amos, was one of those who wrote strong letters.

MISS JEANETTE RANKIN.

It is not the policy of this paper to advertise individual women, for this is not a struggle for individual glorification, but merely for united action for a common need. The work of Miss Rankin, however, who was sent by the Co-operative Committee, composed of the suffrage societies of New York City and the New York State Association, to promote suffrage sentiment in Albany for this session, does merit an appreciation. Although she is a young woman, Miss Rankin has, by personal experiences and observation, based on rather extensive travel through this country, acquired a big point of view. She was active in the suffrage campaigns in Washington and California and by her quiet dignity and breadth of view, Miss Rankin has won for the cause at Albany a respect and attention which far exceeds what has been accorded to it in former years. She has had the advantage of feeling a more co-operative spirit behind her among the suffragists than has characterized their work hitherto, and that has also helped. It has been a hard task to advance the bills to their present position in our Legislature and Miss Rankin's work has been most gratifying to the women whose emissary she has been.

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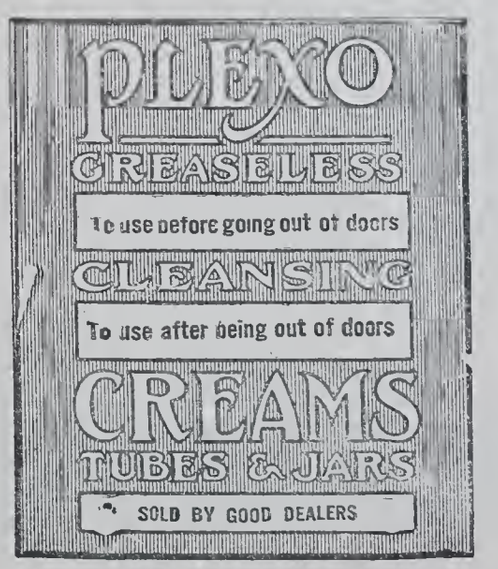

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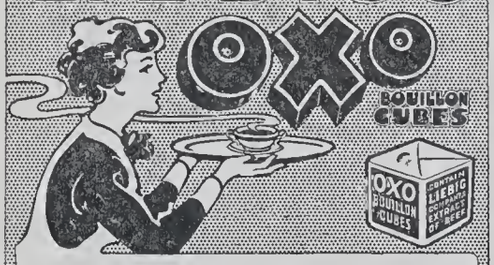

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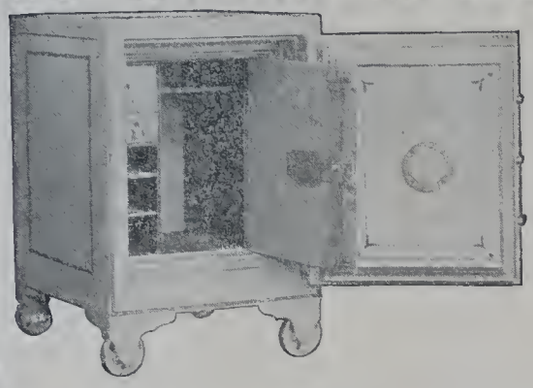

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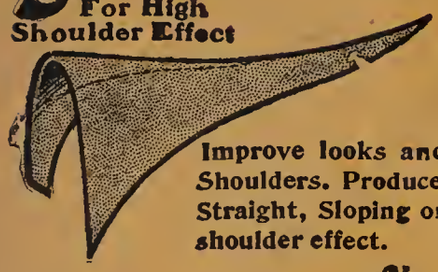

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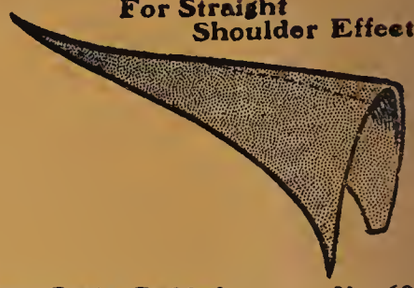

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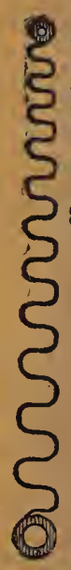

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